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THE
CONNEXION OF TEMPERANCE
WITH *Vol 219*
REPUBLICAN FREEDOM:
AN ORATION,

Delivered on the 4th of July, 1835, before the Mechanics
and Workingmens Temperance Society of the
city and county of Philadelphia.

BY ALBERT BARNES.

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ALSO, A PARODY ON THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, BY
E. D. TARR, AND THE TOASTS, &C., AND LETTERS FROM
A NUMBER OF EMINENT MEN, READ
ON THE OCCASION.

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Vol 219

On motion of Ralph Smith, it was **RESOLVED** That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Rev. Mr. Barnes, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of his eloquent address for publication.

ORATION.



FELLOW CITIZENS:—

The day which we celebrate, and the circumstances under which we meet for that celebration, suggest the topic on which I wish to address you—the *connexion of the Principles of Temperance with Republican Liberty*.

A crisis has arrived in the affairs of this nation; and the question is now to be permanently settled, whether one people on the earth shall be found capable of self-government. More than half a century has passed away since we had a name among nations; and the leading course of events among us has been such as more than to meet the sanguine expectations of the friends of republican liberty, and to disappoint the anticipations and the hopes of its enemies. This day beholds us as a nation more blessed than any other people of the world. We meet here, certain that the sun does not shed his beams on a single people of happier institutions; of more equal laws; of higher enterprise; of more successful plans; of purer freedom; than our own. I may add, that on no favored spot of the globe shall we find higher evidence of the salutary effect of learning, morality, and pure religion, in giving a tone and character to national institutions, than ours. Still, amidst our exultations and thanksgivings, let us not be too sanguine; and still more, let us not be self-confident. Half a century, even under the happiest auspices, is not long enough to make the perpetuity and entire success of any political institutions certain. The most favored nations have risen to their elevation, by slow advances, and amidst many reverses; and our own institutions, though formed in circumstances more auspicious than those of any other people, are not of such a character as to render unnecessary our vigilance, our wisdom, and our prayers to the God of our fathers, that they may be perpetuated. Political men of other nations early predicted our ruin; nor have they ceased to exult in the hope that this last experiment in behalf of freedom shall yet fail. The friends of despotism abroad, while they have been sensible that under the advance of republican principles, fostered mainly by our example, the thrones of ancient dynasties tremble, still cherish the hope that our example will be

unsuccessful, and that the temple of freedom reared in the new world, will yet tumble into ruins.

I said that a crisis has arrived in this nation; and probably the great question about the preservation of our liberty is to be settled before all those here present shall leave the stage of action, and sink down to the grave.—Some of the causes of this crisis are the following. The *patriots* of the revolution are gone, and we are deprived of their living counsels, and shall no longer be won by their stern republican living virtues, or admonished by their living voice of the value of liberty. None were better qualified to be our guides than they; and none could better direct the vessel of state through the tempestuous billows of these times, than those who did it in the perils of the revolution. The illustrious band of patriots that composed the Congress of those times have gone. The last signer of the Declaration of Independence has gone. The immortal man who led our armies to victory has gone. His compatriots in arms have also gone. That youthful hero who saw our dangers across the ocean, and who left the splendors of the most accomplished court in Europe, to encounter the hazards of battle, and the privations of the tented field; the man honored in both hemispheres as the apostle of liberty, and whose name is destined to go down to latest times with that of our own Washington, after lingering in a most honored age, has also gone. The soldiers of the revolution, too, have left us. Here and there, indeed, a veteran lives; but he has retired from the world. He is a man of years. He has ceased to lift his voice in counsel; and his hands have no strength for battle. To my country's shame, I blush to say, that he is now often found a poor man, and perhaps not unfrequently immured in a prison for debt. But he lingers among us, connecting the past generation with the present, soon destined to leave us, and to sleep with those who poured out their blood, like water, to purchase our freedom. When such men as constituted the congress of the revolution; such men as declared and asserted our independence; and such men as moulded our infant institutions, are *all* removed from us, the event constitutes a *crisis* in the affairs of a nation. A new generation rises up to conduct its interests; and the great question is to be tried, whether they are so imbued with the principles of their fathers, as to be qualified to carry out their plans, and to rear the edifice whose foundation their hands have laid.

After the lapse of half a century, we are not only exposed to the hazards which arise from the fact, that the wise counsellors of other times are removed, but from the inevitable changes which will take place in a nation during that time. At the period of our revolution, there was a vigor of

patriotism, a dignity of virtue, an elevation of arm, and a disinterestedness of soul, in every public undertaking, that was sufficient to give an *impulse* to the cause of liberty that would secure our freedom for at least half a century. It was a time when the corrupt and corrupting principles which may insinuate themselves into a state in a time of peace, were from the necessity of the case unknown. It was a time when the mere arts of the politician; when the devices to climb into office which times of prosperity nourish, would be unknown. When office exposes men to confiscation of property, or to death as traitors, it is only those of stern virtue that will accept of it. There never has been a course of events better fitted to nourish a race of lofty minded statesmen and patriots, than the times that preceded our independence. There never was before, an occasion so well fitted to summon forth all that was patriotic and pure in a nation; to concentrate and combine all that existed of public virtue, as the war of the revolution. And it was done. To the amazement of the world, the deliberations of an infant people exhibited a profound wisdom, a stern patriotism, an acquaintance with the principles of government, and a knowledge of the laws of nations, which the legislatures formed under Solon, Lycurgus, and Numa never evinced, and which was worthy of those who had derived their views from Hampden and Sidney. But half a century makes great changes in a nation. Stern and lofty patriotism sometimes dies away with the occasion which calls it forth. In times of great prosperity, such men as Cincinnatus often retire from the public gaze, and a crowd of aspirants for office present themselves, who would be unseen and unknown in periods of national danger. The very fact, therefore, exposes a people to all the dangers and corruptions which attend intrigues for office, and in the ardor for obtaining the prize, the principles of other days are forgotten.

We are to remember also, that in our wealth and resources we are outstripping all that had ever been anticipated. The most far-sighted men of the revolution had not probably a glimpse of the real prosperity of this nation during the fifty-nine years of our political existence, which have now elapsed. Had it been predicted, it would have been regarded as the dream of political enthusiasm, or of romance. Till that period, the enterprise of the nation was shut up within the comparatively narrow limits of the Atlantic States. The vastness of the mighty west was unknown. Then the sun had scarce found an opening made by the axe of the husbandman through the dense forest, to shine upon the most fertile soil of the world; and then the savage ranged those vast wilds undisturbed. But the independence of the nation had the effect to open all that western world to

the enterprise of the east ; and the nations have stood in amazement at the vastness of our resources, and at our prosperity.

There is one source of our danger ; and one indication of the crisis to which we have arrived. The institutions originated by our fathers are to be *expanded*, so to speak, to meet this vast prosperity. The question now is, not whether our mode of government is adapted to thirteen states and three millions of people, for this none can doubt—but whether it is adapted to more than twice that number of states, and perhaps to some hundred millions of men—to times when several of the original states shall contain a population greater than that of the entire nation at the war of the revolution. Can this mighty population be moulded so as to accord with the feelings and principles of the men of 1776 ? Can that vast population which is setting to our shores like the waves which beat all along our coast—that population reared in other lands, and bred there with other feelings than those of republican liberty, nurtured where despots rule, and where standing armies, not public virtue, defend the throne,—can that population be met with such an influence on our shores, as to form them to our views, and fit them to sustain and love the institutions which our fathers have left us ? Are our institutions so framed as to meet the conflicting interests of the north and the south ; of the east and the west ; of our own native born citizens and of foreigners who come and mingle with us ; and to mould the mighty mass into attachment to the principles which we celebrate by the observance of this day ?

Permit me here, to advert to another source of danger to our institutions to which our prosperity has given rise—a danger to which our attention is particularly directed by our peculiar mode of observing this anniversary. I allude to the dangers to our liberty which arise from the prevalence of intemperance. This danger arose from the fact, that not less than 300,000 of our countrymen were intemperate—a large part of whom were the sinew and strength of the nation ; from the fact, that not fewer than 30,000 were annually conveyed to the grave by this vice—a number greater than war and the pestilence has ever swept annually from our land ;—from the fact, that this vice consumed not less than \$100,000,000 of our wealth annually, a sum greater than all the expenses of our government, our schools, and our religion ; from the fact that all the living victims of this vice were disqualified by it from exercising properly the elective franchise, that it broke down in every man's heart all the principles of virtue and true patriotism ; unfitted him for making laws, or dispensing justice ; and thus spread over the land a host of men alike unfit for the cabinet, the senate, or the field ;

alike disqualified from aiding in the counsels of the nation, and for extending happiness in the endearments of home.

The danger arose, further, from the fact that the vice was connected with all our festivities, and with all our national customs. Friend met friend, and foe met foe when to be reconciled with the glass of poison, and the deadly draught was connected with all the pledges of friendship, and all the tokens of reconciliation and love. Even this day—a day which of all others should be turned to sober thought, and inflexible purposes of patriotism, and lofty expressions of gratitude—had become almost a day of national riot and dissipation. The day should be observed. Each returning light of this morning should be hailed with joy by millions of hearts bursting with emotions of patriotism and thanksgiving; and the day should be consecrated to the sacred remembrance of our fathers' toils, and sacrifices, and blood; and to the strengthening of the purest principles of attachment to republican freedom to the end of time. But how can these objects be promoted amidst scenes of intemperance and disorder? Rome had her *Saturnalia*, opening once a year on the republic the floodgates of licentiousness; and our countrymen were fast converting the birthday of our freedom into similar scenes of riot and corruption. It seems almost to have been forgotten, that God, and not Bacchus, achieved our independence; that God, and not Bacchus, raised up that immortal man, and nerved his arm in battle, and inspired his mind with wisdom, who conducted our armies to victory, and the nation to independence and peace. And one effect was, to spread intemperance and licentiousness, as with the burning ravages of an open volcano over, the land. Another effect was, that the wise, and the virtuous, and the truly patriotic, were driven from these celebrations. For how could they join in the observances which were to be scenes of intemperance? And how could they whose bosoms swelled with the remembrance of the times which tried men's souls, unite in celebrations whose only end seemed to be to give up the nation to disorder? The proper observance of this day is designed to recall the memory of the stern and lofty virtues of our patriot fathers—and *this purpose is not well accomplished over the sparkling bowl*. It is to recall the memory of their privations, their toils, and their flowing blood in battle—and *this purpose is not well accomplished when reeling amidst the orgies of Bacchus*. It is an insult to the memory, and a scorn of the virtues of the illustrious dead, to connect this day with scenes of universal dissipation. This day should be passed in confirming attachment to the institutions of our country; in looking over all the land, and surveying its great interests; in teaching our children what led to independence, how it was gained, and

what were the principles of our fathers, and what the genius of our institutions—and *this purpose cannot be well accomplished over the full flowing bowl*. It should be so passed as to recall the memory of their confidence in God, when in congress assembled, our fathers appealed to “the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions,” and solemnly published and declared that these united colonies “are, and of right ought to be free and independent states,” and when “with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors,”—*and this purpose cannot be accomplished amidst the hoarse brawl of dissipation and the sound of revelry*. Deeply impressed with these truths, we have assembled to observe this day in a manner, we think, in accordance with these purposes, and with a firm resolution to do all in our power to stay the progress of intemperance this day in the land.

Such are some of the perils that encompass us. It was with the utmost difficulty that our independence was at first achieved, and our union formed. It was with the utmost hazard even when our numbers were small, and our extent limited, and our capital and credit in embryo; when our boundless enterprise had scarcely commenced; when public virtue was comparatively pure; when few of those great questions of national collision which now agitate the people had arisen; when office was a post of danger, and when the very pressure of circumstances almost made men patriotic; it was then with the utmost difficulty that our union was formed. Hancock, and Samuel Adams, and Sherman, and Franklin, and Washington, then were at the helm of affairs; and it was with trembling hand that those patriots “launched upon the untried deep; and perhaps not one of the patriot band died in full and certain hope that our experiment would be sure.” The dangers of the nation are not past. The crisis is not over. “Dark clouds environ our horizon now, and rocks and quicksands are about our way. Powerful elements in the land are in commotion. It is not the breathing of the zephyr, or the gentle undulations of the lake, to prevent stagnation; but the elements of a storm are all around us. Amidst rival interests, and conflicting passions, and the strifes of ambition, and the jealousies of party, and the loosing of morals, and the prevalence of vice, and the appeals of disorganizers, and the ravages of intemperance: the great question is to be settled, whether there is virtue enough in the nation to preserve it, whether the love of pure republican liberty can be maintained, whether vice can be arrested; and whether the principles of confidence in God which conducted our fathers to freedom, and which were laid at the foun-

dation of our institutions, still linger and live in the nation with sufficient power to meet the threatening evils.

Let us then, enquire for a few moments, what is necessary to meet the crisis, and perpetuate our institutions. Without dwelling at length on these points, I shall just enumerate a few things which have become settled in regard to our prosperity, and our existence as a nation.

(1.) Perhaps one of the first elements in the idea of republican freedom is, that of the right of the people to a fee simple in the soil. It is evident that without that, liberty never has existed, nor can it exist a moment. Where a man is dependant wholly on others; where he has no right in the soil which he cultivates; where he cannot look abroad upon the land and say "it is mine;" where his time, and services, and influence are at the command of another, independence of thought and action must be banished. The spirit of a man is broken who is thus dependent; and an influence can be put forth by those above him, utterly unfavorable to republican liberty. Despotic nations vest the title to all lands in the sovereign, and parcel them out in large portions to the immediate dependents on the crown. In few, perhaps in no despotic nation, is the right of the mass of the people to the fee simple of the soil, recognised. The very image and definition of slavery is, where men have no such rights, and where their time and services are entirely at the command of others to cultivate for them the soil. Rome enjoyed liberty, when the lands which were conquered were parcelled out to the people. Europe was despotic just as long as all the lands were claimed by monarchs, and conferred only on the immediate dependents of the crown. The feudal system contemplated a vast amount of lands given to a baron, while the mass of the people—a mighty mass of uncultivated mind and subdued physical power—was made subject to the will of the feudal lord. The progress of liberty in Europe, as far as Europe has enjoyed freedom, was marked precisely, by the advancing claims of the people to a right in the soil, and by the elevation of the laboring mass to proprietorship in the land. When in the progress of events the people secured in any measure such a right; when the condition of vassalage was changed into that of independent husbandry, a nation put on the aspect of freedom.

It is remarkable, that just as this change of things was produced, and these rights understood, and extensively recognised, God opened the eyes of the European nations in this vast western world. Here all was wild, and free. No feudal lord had laid claim to this land; no monarch had parcelled it out among his dependents; no warrior among his followers. To the men who had learned that civil liberty and independence was based on this right;

to the men who had struggled long and hard for it in Europe, but in nations too densely settled to give full play to this great principle, God spread out this vast, this fair, this rich land. He bade them cross the ocean. He bade them ascend these streams, and climb these hills, and build their habitations where they pleased in these vales, and traverse these prairies, and fell these mighty forests, and take possession of it all, for freedom. He bade them penetrate the vast forests, and cultivate all these vast domains as the land of liberty—the land where the obscurest man might be a possessor of the soil, and the humblest not be subject to the will of a feudal lord. Go, tread these lands and cultivate them as your own. Look abroad upon them with the feeling of conscious independence, and say they are mine. For them I owe fealty to no earthly monarch; and for them I am bound by no earthly service to any mortal. To God alone I owe allegiance for this soil, and man may not interpose to wrest from me the avails of my toil. Here, my fellow citizens, are the elements of our freedom. Here is, perhaps, the prime source of that conscious independence which swells the bosom of the American people, and which serves to distinguish us from most of the nations of the earth. And here is laid the foundation for the noblest feelings of liberty, and the loftiest enterprises of independence. But O, that all my countrymen were thus free; and that all the millions who cultivate the soil of this vast country, could lift their hands and eyes to heaven to-day and say, we are all the children of freedom! God grant that the time may soon come, when these elements of liberty shall be recognised every where; and when the colored men, and the white men, all over the world, may alike say, “our time, and our labor, and the soil on which we tread, is our own.”

(2.) Connected with this right of fee simple in the soil, is another element in our freedom. It consists in securing to us the avails of our honest industry. Let this be secured, and men are, and will be free. Let them labor, knowing that the avails of their labor are secured to them by the laws; that all the gains of toil, and enterprise, and hazard upon the ocean and the land, will be their own, and they are free. Let their time not be at the disposal of another; let them be free from excessive taxation imposed by others; let them be at liberty to tax themselves; let their bosoms swell with the consciousness that all which they gain is their own; let their morning hours, and their evening toils, be gladdened by the idea that they labor for their wives, and children; that they may embark in any lawful enterprise unmolested—and toil in it as long as they please—and they are free. You give a spur to industry which no voice of a tyrant can check; you summon forth the spirit of enterprise, to be rebuked by no perils on sea or land; you

call forth all the powers of body and mind into healthful and virtuous action.

To maintain our liberty, it is needful to secure independent industry. *An idle man is an enemy to the republic*—and in public judgment should be so regarded. *An industrious man, in any honest calling, is the friend of the republic*—and the public judgment will regard him as such. “He that will not work neither should he eat;” and any device, which goes to summon forth the sober industry of the nation, and to secure the avails of that industry to the laboring citizen, is a plan that lies at the basis of our freedom. Every plan or course of conduct, that goes to free men from the necessity of toil; to create an order of useless drones; to amass so much wealth as shall free our sons from the necessity of industry; or to encompass ourselves with so much of the pride and pomp of luxury, as to produce idleness, effeminacy, and dissoluteness of manners, is a plan that tends to subvert our institutions, and lay the proud fabric of liberty in the dust. Make every man industrious in an honest calling, and you secure our independence—you shut up the floodgates of vice and crime—you compel men almost of necessity, to be virtuous—you stop the progress of dissoluteness, and licentiousness; and you disappoint the hopes of every man of ambition, who might seek to overturn our liberties. For the enemies of your country, are the idle and the dissolute. And if our liberties ever fall, it will not be by the armies of distant nations. It will not be by the proud navies that may ravage our coasts. It will be by nourishing in our own bosom, the sons of idleness and profligacy; by suffering a race of men to swarm upon the land without a profession; without a plan of life; without a disposition to labor; without honesty, honor, or religion. And when our cities and our villages shall pour forth such a population as Rome had, the Cataline will not be wanting to marshal these forces, and raze the foundations of our freedom to the dust.

(3.) A third thing necessary to the preservation of our freedom, is the diffusion of intelligence. I speak not of a few only who should be learned, but of the mass of mind. It has become one of our axioms, that our liberty is based on the intelligence of the people. A man who cannot read, is a being not contemplated by our constitution. A man who is not qualified in some measure, to understand his own rights, is a man not fitted to the genius of our institutions. The mass of mind is to be elevated. The people are to be informed. Common schools are to be established all over the nation. The schoolmaster is to be abroad, and humble as his office may seem, he may be the very man that is to save the nation. Place the intelli-

gent and virtuous schoolmaster—though unknown to fame—in all your villages, and neighborhoods; in all your cities; and almost at every corner of the street; and you place there a sentinel of freedom, better, far better, than an officer of justice, or a portion of a standing army.

Our main interest to-day in this point, is its political bearing. And no man can be blind to the fact, that the demagogue, and the wily politician, and the unprincipled intriguer, would desire to close all your school houses, and arrest every where the cause of education. The man of ignorance, is just the man to be the subject of imposture, and to be made the tool of party. And the struggle would become, not a healthful struggle for liberty and patriotism, but a struggle for party power, and the domination of an unprincipled leader. But scatter the lights of education every where, and you shield our liberty. Jefferson said truly, that the man who made two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, was the benefactor of his country; and, in like manner, he who opens a school house in some sequestered vale of ignorance, or in a wretched alley, is a man who evinces a soundness of political wisdom of which statesmen have been often destitute, and is a benefactor of his country.

(4.) A fourth thing indispensable to the preservation of our liberty, is the prevalence of sound public and private morality. At all times necessary for the prosperity and happiness of an individual, or a nation, it is pre-eminently so here. Our institutions are all based on the supposition of the prevalence of sound morality, and the omnipotent virtue of public opinion. There is not one of our institutions that is not shaped on the supposition, that sound morals would prevail, and that is not to be sustained by that alone. There is not one that has any safeguard but that. Oriental despots issue their mandates to be executed at once by the power of the sword. Monarchs that stand independent of the will of the people, encompass their thrones with standing armies, and the throne stands firm only while thus environed. An army in Europe, may be necessary to secure the execution of the laws; here, the same army would be fatal to the republic. No independent set of men, here, make the laws; none dare to dictate to the mass of mind by any hereditary title, or right. The voice of the people is heard in the halls of legislation; is echoed on the benches of justice; and the public voice executes the laws of the land. There is not on earth, a more sublime and elevated spectacle, for example, than the firm and inflexible bench of justice, the Supreme Court of the United States; or than the moral power which goes forth from its decisions; without arms; without noise; and without opposition; to direct the actions of men, and of states, to the very remotest

part of the republic. And there is not in this nation, a school, a college, a seminary; a court, a bank, an association of men, that is not based on the presumption, that a state of sound morals will exist in the nation, and that elevated integrity is the very safeguard, the life-blood of the republic. The man without principle, then, is our foe. Be he in high or low life; be he rich or be he poor; be he clothed with office, or be he a voter simply at a ward election; he is the enemy of his country; and a more direct and deadly enemy, though less mighty, than all the armies of Europe can be;—as the poisonous worm at the heart of a tree, is a more deadly enemy to its growth—small as he may be—than all the storms and winds of heaven.

(5.) A fifth thing indispensable to the perpetuity of our freedom, is a due respect for the laws of the land. Our maxim here, is, that the laws must reign; and the majority must govern. Neither by standing armies, nor by a mob—whose existence and doings would be equally fatal to liberty—are we to be governed. The great principle, unknown in ancient times, that the will of the majority is to govern, is perhaps the fundamental principle of this republic. The friends of despotism are laboring to establish the maxim, that the will of an individual, is to be the rule, to which the mass of mind is to be subject. Ancient dynasties were founded on the maxim, that the decisions of a successful military chieftain were to constitute the law; modern dynasties, in the maxim, that that law is to be sought in the will of a hereditary prince, be he a wise man, or be he a fool. Between these views and our own, is the great struggle on the subject of the government of mankind. Our views are settled; and they are proclaimed to the world. They were solemnly adopted by the little band who came to Plymouth. Before they landed on that rock, where they were to lay the foundations of this mighty empire, they entered into a social compact, where this was the leading principle, that the will of the majority was to be law. It was a principle, till then, never fully acted on; never formally recognised in legislation. They adhered to it; they acted on it; they insisted on it as indispensable to their rights. When they could no longer secure it by fair and just representation; when the British people claimed the right of taxing them without their consent, they resisted. It was but carrying out the principle which had been adopted before the Plymouth colony landed; and Divine Providence now so ordered it, that it stood forth fair and bright as the sun in the heavens, shedding its beams across the ocean and through the world, that the will of the majority fairly represented, should be law. In this western world, it was to be held as firm as the granite of our everlasting hills; and was to be laid at the foundation of all our institutions. The declara-

tion of independence proclaimed it to all nations; the war of the revolution proclaimed it; the eloquence of the revolutionary congress proclaimed it; the thunder of the cannon proclaimed it in battle; the dying groans of patriots proclaimed it; and the shouts and paeans of victory proclaimed it to the wide world. To-day, we with our countrymen proclaim it; and it is the living sentiment in the bosom of every true American citizen, that the law, the expressed will of the majority, is to rule.

And it must be so. We have too grave interests ever to be settled by the fluctuation of a mob. Our great concerns cannot be thrown on that heaving and restless sea. Never yet was there a nation where the *people* had so great questions to settle, as here. The north and the south by nature have been thrown into rivalry, and the difference of interests, and population, and character, produce a constant tendency to alienation and hostility; the conflicting interests of commerce and manufactures, the question of peace and war; the great interests of public education, of morality, and religion, are all intrusted to the guardianship of the people. It is not enough that principles in regard to them are once settled and determined. Every thing here is to be examined, and re-examined. There is a tendency to re-investigate all that has at any time been supposed to have been established; a restlessness, a feverish excitement, growing in part out of the circumstances in which we are placed, and in part from the peculiar nature of the population which the heaving waves, and agitations of the old world have cast upon these western shores.—It is not sufficient, therefore, that these *have* been settled principles of policy, and of morals at any one period of our history. In each succeeding generation, and almost in each year, these subjects will be re-examined, and these grave questions come again for decision before the people.—It cannot be done by a mob. It cannot be done by popular excitement. It is to be done by public virtue; by a respect for the laws; by intelligence; and by saturating the community with the principles of stern and lofty patriotism.

(6.) A sixth thing on which the preservation of our liberties depends is, the just exercise of the right of suffrage. Such is the genius of our institutions, and such the the strifes of party, that it is to be a settled maxim in this land, that all have a right to vote. Not only our native born citizens, but all the foreigners that may choose to come among us, will claim, and will exercise this power. Of this, we do not complain. The remark which I am making is, that our liberty depends on the intelligent and virtuous exercise of this right. Our children should be trained to it; and the foreigner, we should meet on our shore, with the smile of welcome, and the hand of kind-

ness, and endeavor to imbue him with the true spirit of our institutions. On all sides, in all cities, towns, villages and families, there should arise a set of institutions designed to secure and extend the full benefits of the elective franchise. Every independent, and well conducted newspaper does it. Every copy of the constitution that is circulated does it. Every copy of the "Federalist" that all our booksellers can distribute does it. Every Bible that you circulate does it. Every common school that you can establish is doing just so much to defeat the plans of cunning and intriguing office seekers. But let the right of suffrage be connected with ignorance; with mad and raging passion; with the mere excitement of party; with taverns and dram-shops; and we may soon bid "farewell, a long farewell to all our greatness." Let the intelligent and the virtuous abandon the polls, and we abandon the ark of our liberty. Every virtuous man is bound to vote always, by all his love to his own principles; by his love to his family; by his love of country; by his love of intelligent freedom every where; by the memory of his father's blood; and by his higher obligations to heaven.

(7.) A seventh thing requisite to maintain our liberties, is to cultivate the spirit of our fathers in regard to the defence of our rights. Not the love of war in itself—for they loved it not, and sought it not, while forbearance was a virtue; not the love of military glory, and the pomp and circumstance of battle, for the sake of conquest—for we have territory enough, and need not seek to enlarge our boundaries; but the firm and manly spirit of 1776, when men were willing to lay down their lives in their country's welfare. Much as every virtuous mind must abhor the common principles on which wars have been conducted; deeply as the heart must be pained at the recital of battles and the tales of blood; and earnestly as every lover of his race must desire, that the time may come, when nations shall learn war no more, yet the principles of our fathers on this subject we must cherish as indispensable to freedom. We hold a trust for countless millions to come after us; and a trust for mankind, and no ruthless hand of an invader may wrest it from us. In defence of that trust, if need be, we should be ready to tread the field of battle, and to lay down our lives. One of the leading lessons which we are to inculcate in our children is, that this charter of freedom is not to be wrested from them. They are to hold it, even in the grasp of death; and against a world in arms. American freedom is to be defended, by the best blood and treasure of the nation; and by all the aids which the God of nations has put so lavishly in our power.

I fear, indeed, that there may be some danger in this nation, of directing the attention too much to military renown. There may be on this anniver-

sary too exclusive attention bestowed on the deeds of the revolution. There may be too much reference to carnage and to blood. We should not undervalue the services of those lofty minded men; and we should never forget the scenes at Lexington, and Trenton, and Brandywine, and Saratoga, and Yorktown. But there may be danger of overlooking the comparatively tranquil scenes where the master spirits of the revolution thought, and deliberated, and laid the plan of independence. In the State House, in this city there was more, far more, to attract the eye, and to fill the mind with admiration—more that was lofty in intellect, pure in patriotism, elevated in devotion to country, and grand in conception, than there was in any battle of the revolution;—more, far more, than was at Leuctra, or Marathon, or Pharsalia, or Waterloo. There is a glare and glitter about military glory that dazzles the eye; but it is an admiration rather fitted for monarchies, than republics. Our glory lies in the peaceful scenes of agriculture and the mechanic arts; in our schools and churches, and lyceums, in the wisdom of our counsels, and in the native grandeur of our magnificent scenery, rather than in the laurels of the conqueror, or the garments of the warrior rolled in blood.

(8.) I add, that our defence lies in the protection of the God of heaven. So our fathers felt; and so every sober minded man must feel. God is the sovereign of the nations. His own right hand conducted us to freedom; and his holy arm hath gotten for us the victory. Never was divine interposition more manifest, than in the war of independence; never more signal than since. Our safety lies still in his hands. Our liberty is to be secured by the prevalence of the fear of his name; his love; his worship; his laws; and by those great moral principles which a consciousness of his sovereignty, alone can originate and perpetuate among a people. A nation of atheists could not be long free. The sentiments of atheism are incompatible with liberty. Once it was tried—tried in the most intelligent, and refined nation in Europe. The result was seen in the groans, and gore, of millions. A nation bled; and from the awful horrors of the scene, refuge has been sought in the arms of monarchy. One thing is true, we know no such liberty as that founded on the prevalence of atheism. Our fathers knew it not; our institutions know it not; and with it our freedom could not exist. Our independence was commenced in the fear of God; it is to be perpetuated in the same way, or not at all.

It only remains, now, that I ask your attention to a few remarks on the bearing of the principles of temperance on all this. We have felt in common with 1,500,000 of our fellow citizens, that the preservation of our

liberties, and all our immunities depends on the prevalence of the sound principles of abstinence from all that intoxicates, and makes mad the brain. And feeling that intemperance has made more enlistments to its ranks on this day than any other in the year, we have chosen to observe this anniversary on the principles which we conceive to be in accordance with the sober and virtuous tendencies of our institutions.

Our liberty depends on the exclusive possession by the people of the fee simple to the soil. Yet who can long be secure of this, but the men of temperance? Is it not every where known that the habits of intemperance tend to the loss of that right; and that an intemperate man soon ceases to be a freeholder? Do not titles, and deeds, pass soon into the hands of others, when this vice seizes with a giant's force a man? And does not many a farm, cleared and cultivated when the man was a sober man, many a farm necessary to the welfare of the man and his family, pass every day from the hands of the drunkard into the hands of the already rich.

Our freedom rests on securing the avails of honest industry. The man who will not work, I repeat, is the enemy of his country. But what is the effect of intemperance? Can any one be ignorant that it spreads idleness every where? That every man who is intemperate, becomes of course an idle man? And can any one be ignorant that this vice, more than all others, exposes a man to the certainty, that all his property will be wrested from him? The avails of *former* industry, where do they go when a man becomes intemperate? To the dram seller; to the tavern keeper; to the manufacturer of poison, thus living upon the avails of the toil of their neighbors; sustained in the destruction of the estates of others; and rioting on the spoils which they have secured by spreading the causes of temptation, and pouring forth poison to destroy the intellect and the moral sense of the community. The avails of toil thus pass into other hands; intemperance produces idleness and the loss of property; and thus strikes a blow at the very pillars of our liberty.

Our freedom depends on the prevalence of intelligence. But is any man ignorant that the mass of mind cannot be enlightened unless that mass can be kept within the bounds of soberness? Can any one be ignorant that a common school cannot be kept up in an intemperate neighborhood, and that the prevalence of this vice would break up all the lyceums, and institutes, and colleges, and seminaries, in the land?

Our liberty depends on sound morality, and who can be ignorant that this is dependent on the prevalence of the principle of temperance? Already it is ascertained that not less than nine-tenths of all the crimes in this nation

proceed from this vice. Our jails, and our court rooms, and our penitentiaries, and our alms houses, are all filled with those who have been led to crime and poverty, and debt, by this single vice; and but for this, you might at once pull down three-fourths of all your prisons; save yourselves more than three-fourths of your taxes that are now demanded to sustain the administration of justice; convert half your splendid palaces for the poor, to manufactories or colleges; and almost proclaim a general jail delivery throughout the land.

Our liberty depends on the preservation of the laws. But what are the materials of a mob? Who compose the class of men who set the laws at defiance? Who are the men whose passions can be inflamed, and whose feelings excited, and who can be hurried into the violation of the laws, and the destruction of property, of peace and life? Such sober men as marched in the armies of our independence? No. The victims of intemperance, with passions already inflamed by the burning poison. And where are the subjects of riots, and the materials of a mob to be found? On the farm? In the workshop? In the counting room? By the fireside? In the place of education and prayer? No. They are to be found in your dram shops; they are in the bar-rooms; they are in the vicinity of the thousand, and ten thousand taverns, fountains of poison, that have been located in your cities, and throughout the land.

Our liberty depends on the the preservation of the just exercise of the right of suffrage; and that depends on temperance. Is a drunkard qualified to vote? Is he whose reason is dethroned, and who in fact is a madman, fitted to act soberly in regard to the great question of qualification for office? Can he take large and just views of his country's interest, and of the real fitness of man to advance those interests? Who, will entrust his pecuniary affairs to a drunken lawyer; who, his life in the hands of a drunken physician; who, his soul in the keeping of a drunken clergyman? And how can we trust the interests of proper selections for office, in the hands of drunken voters? And, yet here perhaps is the very concentration of all the perils of our republic. Are there no dram shops established and fostered, designed to bear on elections? In the vicinity of the polls, are there no fountains of poison and of cursing, open at the expense of candidates for office, to secure voters? And what is the purpose, but to bewilder the intellect; to prevent the exercise of sober judgment; and to secure the influence of a man in directing the affairs of the nation who is unqualified to manage his own? Plant a dram shop near all the polls; open a fountain of poison, accessible to all men; invite men to drink freely, and you destroy the indepen-

dence of their thinking, and the soberness of their action. Let the great interests for which blood flowed freely at Lexington and Bunker Hill, become intrusted to a nation of drunkards; and what the result will be who can doubt?

Our liberty depends on the readiness to defend our institutions with our treasure; and, if need be, with our blood. But who can defend these great interests in council, but he who is temperate? Who, in the legislative hall, can be qualified to take large views of the constitution, and of the country, but the man of temperance? I know that an unnatural fire is often kindled in a man's soul by the aid of stimulus. I know that a man may sometimes add brilliancy to his imagination, and fire to his eloquence by this unnatural excitement. But I know too, that it is unnatural, and is temporary, I know that it will extinguish ultimately, the fires of real genius, and paralyze the arm of power; and destroy the most mighty intellect. Is there a tongue so eloquent, that the demon of intemperance cannot make it dumb? Is there an intellect so gigantic that it will not paralyze it? Is there a heart so rich and noble that it will not destroy it? Is there a frame so godlike, and so manly, that it will not lay it in the dust? Go, and walk in the grave yard attached to any capital in the world, and ask of the cold monument over the graves of the dead, who slumber there? Could the still and solemn marble speak, in how many cases would it say, here lies a man whom God had blessed with rich native endowments, whose tongue of eloquence is still in death, and whose fires of genius are for ever quenched, by the indulgence in the intoxicating draught. Had John Hancock, and Samuel Adams, and Roger Sherman, and Benjamin Franklin, been intemperate men, where to-day would have been the record of our freedom?

And who can defend our great interests in battle, but the man of temperance? Ancient Rome became the mistress of the world. But it was because her soldiers, unacquainted with the intoxicating draught, were fitted to toil, and, who thus capable of fatigue and hardships, carried the eagle around the world. Alexander the great would have established his empire permanently over the nations which he had subdued, had he been a temperate man; but he died in the vigor of life, a drunkard. Had Washington been intemperate at the age of twenty, where had been our liberty? The single fact of the want of temperance in one man would have changed the destiny of this nation, and perhaps, of the world. And who shall lead forth your armies again, if ever needful, which God forbid, to the field of blood? Stake the interests of this nation, in the movements of a man of intemperance; and who does not see that "freedom would shriek, and bid the world farewell."

I need not add, that these principles are necessary to preserve in the community, a proper regard for the God who has blessed us this day with virtuous liberty. Our freedom is in his hand; and unless the principles of the temperance reformation prevail, neither reverence for his name, his law, or his worship, can be maintained. Nothing so certainly as this vice which we seek to subdue and destroy, will blot out the regard for his name; nothing so certainly obliterate the recognition of his moral government; nothing so certainly introduce those crimes which God follows with the proofs of his displeasure, or so certainly expose us to his curse and indignation.

Fellow citizens, we this day commemorate an illustrious series of victories over the armies of the most mighty empire of the earth. We recall the virtues of illustrious statesmen, and soldiers; of counsellors and warriors; of whom Rome in her brightest days, would have been proud; and whose names the historians of Britain, would have rejoiced to have recorded by the side of her Hampdens and Sidneys; her Chathams and her Burkes; and even her Alfreds and the most illustrious of her Henrys. We record to-day, the goodness of the God of our fathers; and in his temple we utter his praise. We recognise his hand in leading our fathers to victory; his guidance in directing the counsels of the nation; his goodness in giving us the immortal instrument of our freedom which we have read; his beneficence in giving us a constitution containing the result of all the wisdom of the world. We recognize his goodness in the grandeur of our hills and mighty rivers; in the beauty of our streams, and the fertility of our vales; in the prosperity which greets us every where. And we this day again, commit our beloved land to his holy keeping.

The victory over the foreign enemies of our country has been won; and we are free. One other victory remains to be won. It is a victory over that deadly foe that has insinuated itself into our nation—into our cities, and towns, and hamlets; which had come secretly into our halls of legislation; into our courts of justice; into our colleges; and into our pulpits, an enemy which sought to destroy the nation, which had seized with a giant's grasp the pillars of the temple of liberty. Already had it laid in the dust, more of our young men, and more of our mighty men, than the war of the revolution; and already had it begun to raise the cry of victory, in the ears of the nations of the earth. But his career is arrested. His steps are stayed. We record to-day also, with gratitude to God, the triumphs of temperance. Let this victory be gained, and we are doubly free. Then, our career shall be glorious; our experiment shall be complete. Then shall violence no more be heard in our land, wasting and desolation on our borders, then shall our peace be as a river, and our righteousness as the waves of the sea.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The unanimous declaration of the Mechanics and Working Men, July 4th, 1835.

BY E. D. TARR, ESQ.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for the safety of our political privileges and the good of mankind, to free ourselves of a usage, which is alike destructive of both, which the laws of God, and the welfare of our country demand; a decent respect to the opinions of others, require that we should declare the causes which impel us to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident:—that all men are created free agents—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, God has endowed his creatures with the faculties of reason, perception, and judgment—that whenever any custom or usage becomes destructive of these ends, it is our right to alter or abolish them, and to institute new ones, laying their foundations on such principles as shall seem most likely to affect our safety and happiness.—Prudence indeed would dictate, that customs long established should not be changed or abolished, for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and evils, pursuing invariably the same objects, tend to reduce them to absolute degradation and misery, it is their right, it is their duty, to lay aside such custom or usage, and provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of the people of these United States—such is the necessity that constrains them to denounce as injurious the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage. The history of intoxicating drinks, ever since their first institution as such, is a history of repeated evils and injuries, all having in direct object the destruction of life, liberty, and happiness. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

They make their votaries refractors of laws, both human and divine, the most wholesome for the public good, and our individual happiness.

They have called together large bodies of our citizens at places illegal, uncomfortable and distant from their homes, their friends; and their families, and distant from all those who should be the the object of their affections, for the sole purpose of decoying them into innumerable and inextricable difficulties and dangers.

They have dissolved and divided families—diseased and destroyed hundreds of the best of our fellow citizens, and consigned to obscurity and disgrace, as many more—prostrated the fairest and brightest ornaments of society—converted the father into a fiend—the cool and calculating man into a murderer—the asylum of love and happiness, into the abode of discord and misery.

Their pestilential influence has been felt in private and in public, in the church and in the state, by causing drunkenness, bloodshed and heresies, thereby exposing us to the dangers of the loss of our reputation abroad, and our own comfort and peace at home.

They have endeavoured to depopulate our country, by poisoning the people.

They have made a multitude of beggars, maniacs, and murderers among us, and brought upon us innumerable diseases, to kill our people, and break up society.

They have kept among us standing armies of sotis and tiplers, to the great annoyance of our peaceable citizens.

They have endeavoured to subject us to drinks destructive to our constitution.

Their use has inundated our country with large supplies of foreign manufactures to complete the works of death, desolation, and misery, already be-

gun with circumstances of moral destruction and wide spread ruin, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous and benighted ages, and utterly insupportable by a civilized and enlightened people.

It has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive by its wiles, to bear arms against their families—to become the executioners of their friends and brethren—or to fall, themselves by their own hands.

They have excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and caused by their merciless rule of warfare, the destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these evils, we have remonstrated against their use as a drink; our repeated remonstrances have only been answered by their repeated use and consequent evils. A drink which is followed by consequences so direful in their character, is unworthy the use of a free and enlightened people.

Nor have we been wanting in cautions to our fellow citizens; we have warned them of the dangerous and destructive influence they extending over our land. We have pointed to the peace, health and prosperity of those who use them not. We have appealed to their native reason and even magnanimity. We have conjured them by all the ties of kindred, philanthropy, and patriotism, to discountenance and discontinue their use.

They have been deaf to the voice of reason and truth, and madly persisted in their manufacture, sale, and use, to the destruction of the peace of society and christianity among us.

We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold all other medicines, good as a medicine, bad as a *drink*.

We, therefore, the friends of liberty and temperance, in Philadelphia assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publish and declare, that the people of the United States of right ought to discontinue and discourage the use of all intoxicating liquors as a drink, and their use as such, ought every where to be discouraged and discontinued. And in support of these principles, and to the accomplishment of this object, with a firm reliance on the aid of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge ourselves, *to abstain from and discourage the use of all intoxicating drinks forever.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY'S CELEBRATION.

At 9 o'clock the Society assembled in Independence Square; from whence they proceeded to the Central Church. The procession was preceded by a banner, bearing this inscription, "Mechanics and Workingmens Temperance Society, on the Principles of Total Abstinence, March 17, 1835."—Another splendid banner, prepared for the Society, represented the genius of temperance flying over the land, bearing a vessel of water. Beneath the seven headed hydra, going through the land, and spreading death and destruction in all its paths, appears; but the genius of temperance applies her antidote to its head, and it droops and dies.

The procession was large and respectable. After arriving at the Church, they were greeted by the smiling faces of the fair, which thronged the gallery. A spirited song of jubilee, was sung by the excellent choir of the church, led by Mr. Bill. The Rev. Dr. Cuyler, then addressed the throne of grace. The Declaration of Independence, was read by Mr. Jacob S. Beck; after which another piece was performed by the choir; then followed the Oration, by the Rev. Mr. Barnes. The exercises closed by prayer, by the Rev. J. Patterson. After which, the society proceeded to Temperance Hall, where a substantial dinner was provided by Mr. Gibbs; Col. Joseph S. Riley, Presided, assisted by Messrs. E. B. Foster, J. S. Beck, and H. S. Tarr, as Vice Presidents. The Rev. Messrs. Wilmer and Marsh acted as chaplains. The cloth being removed, the following toasts were drank, the only drink, nature's pure beverage.

1. The day we celebrate; its importance worthy the commemoration of freemen.

2. The memory of Gen. George Washington; his unparalleled firmness, his manly virtues, cannot be eclipsed by the brightest constellations of patriots on history's page.

3. Our Revolutionary father's toils and dangers, privations and death,—matters of light importance with them, compared to the blessings achieved for their posterity.

4. Warren, Mercer, Montgomery, and the host of martyrs to the cause of freedom; succeeding generations shall bear in grateful remembrance their valor, while the ocean rolls a wave, or Columbia's soil bears a plant.

5. The Soldiers of the Revolution; undauntedly brave. Their intrepidity achieved our liberties—a grateful posterity perpetuates their memory.

6. Our Country; the Constitution and its laws, the safeguard of the republic.

7. The Army and Navy—May it be written on their banner, righteousness exalteth a nation.

8. The younger States of the Union—May they emulate the principles of the elder thirteen, in the spirit of union and harmony that characterised the patriots of '76.

9. The Judiciary of the United States—First in council, last in usurpation.

10. The glorious Independence of '76 from the spirit of despotism, associated with the glorious independence of freemen in 1835 from the spirit of alcohol.

11. The dawn of temperance—the harbinger of all the virtues; without temperance there can be no virtue, no happiness, no independence, individual or national.

12. The youth and rising generation—Grandsons of the sires of '76, may they evince their regards for the heritage bequeathed, by perpetuating their remembrance, unshackled from the bondage of intemperance.

13. The Fair Sex—"Heaven's last gift to man," our ever new delight.

VOLUNTEERS SENT.

By the Hon. Judge Cranch. The principles and the spirit of 1776—liberty requires no other principles—her votaries no other spirit.

By the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen. The anniversary of a nation's independence—let it be also the witness of individual deliverance from the bondage of alcohol.

By Doctor Samuel Agnew of Lewistown, Pa. A speedy, total and perpetual emancipation, to every human being, from the cruel and degrading bondage of the inebriating cup.

By Thomas P. Hunt. Temperance men and firemen; nothing but water answers their purpose.

The following was sent by a Teetotaler.

Here's your health in water,
I'm glad its not in wine;
Think upon your own health,
And not forgetting mine.—N. L. K.

BY GENTLEMEN PRESENT.

By J. Manderson—Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher, statesman, mechanic and teetotaler.

By Anthony P. Morris, Esq.—Temperance and education, without which our liberty loses its value.

By Dr. L. P. Gebhard—The City of Philadelphia; a small band of her sons were the first to tread in the footsteps of the American Temperance Society; may all her sons and her daughters who have imbibed its principles never violate them, but persevere in the cause they have espoused until their beloved country shall be declared free from the baneful effects of alcoholic poison.

By J. S. Beck—Potters field; Prince Alcohol's depot for his used up car-

By G. W. Wentling.—The ship of State, a temperate commander and sober crew, the only safeguard in a tempestuous ocean.

By R. Smith. Courts.—The license comes from the bench; the consumer is brought to the bar; he is escorted to the Cherry Hill retreat. Uncle Sam pays the reckoning.

By R. J. Dare. The Alcoholic prince. His most devoted subjects receive on their journey, maniapotu for a portmanteau.

By Col. Riley. The Gout, the penalty of the law for receiving on board contraband goods.

By H. S. Tarr. Our beloved Schuylkill; its waters are tendered to the city authorities to guard against the pestilence and the consuming fire. if effectually tried, they would be found superior to 10,000 watchmen.

By Ralph Smith. Schuylkill water, heavens purest gift; it is brought into bad company by man's contrivance; its aim is purity; its motto, no amalgamation.

By J. S. Beck. Grog shops, *alias* Pauper Manufactories. May the time speedily arrive when they will all stop business for the want of materials.

By E. B. Foster. Our Independence; it must and shall be preserved, but not in spirits.

By W. Stratton. The criminal list; full proof of the fruitfulness of the license system.

By Doct. Pierce. Temperance and the fair sex; may the former receive from the latter the encouragement and support which it is their duty and interest to afford.

By J. Dallam. The proclamation of the Mayor of New York, for the suppression of the sale of ardent spirits on the sabbath, may its example and effect, soon reach the proper authorities of our own beloved city.

By Rev. J. Marsh. The families of the 500,000 drunkards in our country; they have our sympathy.

By a Guest. Jails and Almshouses; farmer Alcohol's barns for storing away the fruits of his harvest.

By a Guest. Temperance Agents; may they soon get down all the bars and let the creature out.

By D. Davis. Our Forefathers. Theirs was a glorious strike for liberty; full pay and extra-allowance to the survivors.

By Elihu D. Tarr, Esq. The signers of the second declaration; may their pledge be as inviolate, their zeal as untiring, and their success as complete, as the signers of the first.

By E. B. Foster. The orator of the day; his distinguished qualifications are fully developed in his patriotic address: may he live long in the grateful remembrance of every heart that beats a true response to temperance and liberty.

The chaplains of the day—the Rev. Messrs. Wilmer and Marsh; their benevolence and interest in the cause of temperance, actuated from the golden principles of doing good.

The champion of temperance—Rev. Thos. P. Hunt; undaunted by the reproaches of death dealers in alcohol, a rising generation will hallow his memory.

The invited guests of the day—their response to temperance principles, testimonies of the success of temperance over dissipation, rum and degradation.

The author of the parody on the declaration of independence—similar interests upon similar principles, ensure success to the cause.

Our elective franchise—a banner against invidious distinctions, the palladium of the poor man with his more wealthy neighbor.

WASHINGTON D. C. 27th June, 1835.

Mr. E. B. Foster, Corresponding Secretary of the Mechanics and Working Mens Temperance Society of the city and county of Philada.

Sir—It would afford me great pleasure to join with the "Mechanics and Working Men's Temperance Society" of the city and county of Philadelphia, in celebrating the approaching anniversary in a manner worthy of its observance;—which can only be done by men in the full possession of all their faculties, and no man can be sure that he is in possession of all his faculties, unless he abstains totally from all intoxicating drink. The principles of the revolution, which that anniversary is intended to celebrate, were mingled with my first dawns of intelligence, and are the basis of all my political opinions. They are the only principles which can save our liberties from the grasp of the few, or the many. They ought, therefore, especially upon such an occasion, to be maintained and enforced by cool heads and sound hearts.

I agree to the principle upon which your society is founded—"total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks," and have long practiced upon it myself. And if it could be universally adopted, I am satisfied that nearly one half of the evils which now afflict society, would be prevented.

I hope the distance of my residence, my constant public duties, and my advanced years, may be deemed a sufficient apology for my absence, after the flattering invitation with which I have been honored.

With great respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. CRANCH.

NEWARK, June 26, 1835.

Mr. E. B. Foster, Corresponding Secretary.

Dear Sir—It would give me pleasure to attend your Temperance Society on the 4th of July next, but previous engagements will prevent me. I rejoice that the important departments of "Mechanics and Working Men," have taken hold of this great subject, and upon the true principle of abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. I hope that these larger branches of our community, will yet be persuaded, that there is nothing like pure water for refreshment. This makes no inroads upon our health, or reason, or conscience. It is the safest beverage, no dangers cluster around it, as they do around the spirits and the wine cup. Your intended celebration will be worthy of the day. The anniversary of a nation's independence, let it be also the witness of individual deliverance from the bondage of alcohol, that has enslaved and degraded, and well nigh destroyed us as a people.

Yours, very respectfully,

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

LEWISTOWN, June 27, 1835.

Mr. E. B. Foster,

Dear Sir—Your very polite invitation of the 23d inst. as Secretary of the Mechanics and Working Men's Temperance Society of the city and county of Philadelphia, to unite with you in the approaching anniversary, was received this day. I trust I duly appreciate the motives of the society in this gratifying evidence of their respect, yet I am compelled, from uncontrollable circumstances, to deprive myself of the pleasure of uniting with you personally in the celebration of that memorable event. Although absent in person, I shall be with you in spirit, and trust I shall ever cherish an ardent attachment to the virtuous and patriotic principles, which have influenced your association, and will animate your proceedings on this, and every other occasion, when your action is required in support of the benevolent cause which claims our mutual and decided co-operation.

It is particularly gratifying to see the doctrine of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, adopted by that respectable portion of the community

which is represented in your association, in order to test its soundness and give a fair practical testimony to the truth, that such drinks are entirely unnecessary to qualify the active laborer for the most successful development of his physical energies.

Wishing you much rational enjoyment in the contemplated celebration, and trusting that your example will exert a benign and diffusive influence on the operating class of our common country, I remain, with sentiments of much respect, your obedient servant,

SAML. AGNEW.

Mr. E. B. Foster, Corresponding Secretary of the Mechanics and Working Mens Temperance Society of the city and county of Philada.

Dear Sir—The invitation from the "Mechanics and Workingmens Temperance Society," of the city and county of Philadelphia, to participate in the national festival of the 4th of July, is an irresistible temptation to me, and I promise myself the pleasure of uniting with them, on their first appointed day for celebrating it, in a manner worthy of its observance.

It is now more than forty years, since I had the honor to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in the Senate of Pennsylvania; I well recollect the character of the public rejoicings of that day, and should with great reluctance react my part, in similar celebrations; but since the dawn of temperance has appeared in Pennsylvania, a brighter day may be anticipated than she has ever witnessed. It is the harbinger of all the virtues; without temperance, indeed, there can be no virtue, no happiness, no independence, individual, or national.

In some parts of Bucks county, the temperance cause has nearly banished ardent spirits, its most formidable foe, from the farms and families of the people, and wherever this is the case, independence, health, and happiness, have almost immediately succeeded to poverty, crime and misery.

Pennsylvania, would indeed be the paradise of the earth to the poor man, if he would abandon ardent spirits as a drink, or rather, I should say, there would then, be no poor men. The mechanics and working men, among whom I include all who till the ground, can never know their full power in Pennsylvania, nor how to use it, until they duly appreciate temperance and education. It is among my most anxious wishes, that these sister virtues, may be united objects of attainment, in your, and all similar societies. In a letter received within a year, from the venerable and virtuous Madison, he says, "education is identified with liberty itself, for, without it, no people can long be free, nor with it otherwise."

Our laws, not content with protecting us in the enjoyment of our lives, and liberties, go further, and permit us to destroy both, by *one deleterious poison!* they even permit others, who deal in it, to do this, by paying for a license.

I am, dear sir, with great respect &c. your obedient servant.

ANTHONY MORRIS.

Bolton Farm, June 29th, 1835.

ASHLAND, 4th July, 1835.

Dear Sir.—I received your favor dated the 22nd, and post marked the 24th ult., inviting me to unite with the Mechanics and Workingmens Temperance Society in celebrating the present anniversary of American Independence. It would not have been in my power, conveniently to attend, if I had received the invitation in time. But I am nevertheless sensible of the honor of the invitation, and request the the society to accept my acknowledgements for it. I avail myself of the occasion, to bear my humble testimony to the great advantages which have resulted to society from the establishment of Temperance Institutions, and I sincerely hope that yours may prosper and contribute its full proportion of them.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant,
E. B. FOSTER, Esq.

H. CLAY.

ODES AND SONGS, SUNG AT THE CELEBRATION.

Hark! the song of Jubilee.

Hark ! the song of Jubilee,
Loud as mighty thunders roar,
Or the fulness of the sea,
When it breaks upon the shore.
See Jehovah's banners furled!
Sheath'd his sword; he speaks, 'tis done
Now the kingdoms of this world
Are the kingdoms of his son.
He shall reign from pole to pole,
With supreme unbounded sway,
He shall reign when like a scroll,
Yonder heavens have passed away !
Hallelujah ! for the Lord God Omnipotent
shall reign,
Hallelujah ! let the word Temperance echo
round the earth and main,

The Morning Sun.

The morning sun shines from the East,
And spreads his glories to the West ;
All nations with his beams are blest,
Where'er the radiant light appears.

Thus does the star of Temperance rise,
We see its light with beaming eyes,
Spread o'er fair Columbia's skies,
Where freedom's sons shine like the stars

Yes, freedom her attendant waits,
To bless the portal of her gates,
To crown the wide extending states,
With laurels that will ne'er decay.

Our fathers rose—the British yoke
They proudly spurn'd, they nobly broke,
And thus Intemperance feels the stroke,
By freemen of America.

Ode for the 4th of July.

The birth day morn of Freedom,
Columbia's sons now hail ;
While that bright star doth lead them,
That shines o'er hill and dale ;
And while the morning blushes
With days unclouded beams,
And sweet cool water gushes,
We'll toast thee from its streams.

It is the best libation,
With which our cups can flow,
And freeman's celebration,
No sweeter draughts can know ;
If aught can mar the glory,
Or freedom's honor brand,
It is the awful story,
That Rum pollutes our land,

Oh, shall that foe enslave us,
And tear the boon away,
That heaven in mercy gave us,
And freemen hail the day!
No, let us rise united,
And the great monster crush,
By water draughts excited,
We to the rescue rush.

The Temperance Strike.

His chains the tyrant rum, too long
Has tried to cast around us,—

Shall not Mechanics prove too strong,
When any would confound us?—
We shall! we shall! we feel our strength
And who no sword will draw,
When we for freedom strike at length ?
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

Our fathers—who may see their like!
When trodden down as cattle,
For liberty knew how to strike,
And win the righteous battle!
And shall their sons be slaves to drink?
Oh never! never! Nor
Will Working Men like cowards shrink,
No boys!—hurrah! hurrah!

The pledge to Temperance we renew,
For she is Freedom's daughter—
In generous draughts of mountain dew,
In cold and limpid water!
Strike hands with us!—for wine like this
The toper never saw ;
E'en Woman's lip such cup may kiss
Unstained, hurrah! hurrah!

Some strike for wages, some for hours,
Shall we refuse?—O never!
For time and cash we pledge our powers,
And strike for both for ever!
Then strike who will for "6 to 6,"
We flinch not in the war ;
For Temperance and for Seventy-Six
We strike—hurrah! hurrah! W.

Ode, Written for the Occasion

BY W. B. TAPPPAN,

Who are the brave, if they were not—
The mighty men of Bunker-hill?
Our sires!—who'd shrink, if they did not,
Their country's glory to fulfil?
Who are the free, if we are not,
Their sons!—O God! of all thy earth
Seest thou this day one blessed spot
As free as that which gave us birth?

Who are the brave if they were not—
The men who woke the strife again?
And wiped away the drunkard's blot,
And dashed to earth his cruel chain!
Who are the free, if we are not,
Who will no longer garlands twine
Around the cup, nor cast our lot
With those that tarry at the wine!

Rejoice! rejoice! and who will not,
In all that Heaven has done for man!
If slaves of drink refuse, yet what
Prevents the free, who truly can?
For what to us is habit's power,
And what the sparkling tempter's bite?
Who's here, who triumphs not this hour,
In Temperance and in Freedom's might

Who are the strength, if we are not,
Of our fair country's noble name?
Without Mechanic skill, what jot
Or tittle lives to tell her fame?
And who but we, her lively stones
Shall fit, and bid the column rise:
Its base upon the warriors' bones—
Its summit hidden in the skies!

The Mechanics and Working Mens Temperance Society was organised
March 17th, 1835. The following is the list of officers.

PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH S. RILEY,

VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW FENTON, N. L.	M. W. BALDWIN, City,
H. S. TARR,	JOHN DALLAM,
JOHN JORDON, S. Garden,	SILAS W. SEXTON, "
JACOB KEEN, Kensington,	W. K. BROOKS, Southwark,
JOHN VAUGHAN, "	

JACOB S. BECK, *Recording Secretary.*

E. B. FOSTER, *Corresponding do.*

WM. S. KEIM, *Treasurer.*

MANAGERS.

JAMES KEEN,	GEORGE CHRIST,
J. G. FLEGLE,	ARNOLD BUFFOM,
JAMES PETERS,	ADAM MINTZER, Jr.
JOHN D. TAYLOR,	P. S. SCHUYLER,
JACOB ASHBURNER.	J. B. DARE,
ANDREW ROAT,	

The following is the pledge of the Society:

Whereas it is the will of God that all men should be temperate in all things; and he has promised to assist those who seek to do his will, WE, the undersigned, do PLEDGE ourselves, depending upon Divine assistance, to abstain entirely from the *Manufacture, Sale, and Use, of all intoxicating drinks* as a beverage.